28: Hervey de Saint-Denys--106-107 S-4 (no date) 1874 Formosans-1-2
116, 114, 175

Since the earliest days of our history, Chinese vessels cruised in the Chinese and Japanese waters...and in 109 B.C. a fleet of the Emperor Hiao-ou-ti transported an army of 50,000 men across the Pe-tche-li gulf to Korea.

When we consider all the facts, it is logical to believe that the Chinese did not know anything about Formosa until 1430? Klaproth's memoire [EJ: Tableaux historiques de l'Asie.] declares that this is incredible, but I think that it is just as impossible to assume, as he does, that Ma-touan-lin did not even mention the large island of Formosa, which is separated from Fo-kien by a narrow strait. This Ma-touan-lin enumerates and describes all of the countries which the Chinese knew and visited, and some of them were so far distant that it took six months, eight months, or even a year to reach them. He speaks of Luzon, Borneo, the Moluccas and perhaps even of California, which he calls by the mysterious name of Fou-sang. [107]

Klaproth says: "The Chinese historians did not mention Formosa because its inhabitants did not send any embassies, or pay any tribute."

We shall see later that this assertion contains a double error, and Ma-touan-lin mentions a large number of little countries which had never sent any ambassadors, or paid any tribute.

In my opinion, the question simply became a matter of deciding what name Ma-touan-lin had used for Formosa (as Taï-ouan, the modern name for the island, was not

employed until long after Ma-touan-lin's time).

According to Klaproth and his Tableaux historiques de l'Asie, the inhabitants of Formosa may have been called Man-ti from the third century B.C. until the fifth century of our era; but this term cannot be used as the title for any particular articles for the name Man-ti was a generic one which the Chinese authors used to designate all the foreigners in the south. From the fifth century to the twelfth, the Tableaux historiques omit Formosa, as if the Chinese had lost even the vague information which they had previously possessed about the island....

But I felt that I had to keep looking for some reference to Formosa in Ma-touan-lin before deciding to accept such an extraordinary fact as [108] the complete omission of the island. Finally I read this under the title of Lieou-kieou:

" The Lieou-kieou kingdom consists of an island or islands (the Chinese text does not show whether this should be singular or plural), which are in the open sea east of the city of Tsiouen-tcheou (Chinese province of Fo-kien). As you approach the coast of Fo-kien, there are some islands called Peng-hou, and from them you can see the smoke of the dwellings in this kingdom. It takes five days to sail there."

"During the Soui dynasty, the first of the Chinese years ta-nie (605 of our era), a sailor named Ho-man and several other Chinese of the same profession said: when the sky is fair and the sea is calm if you look east, it seems as if you can see some smoke rising from dwellings. About this same time the emperor Yang-ti ordered the military mandarin Tchu-kouan to sail in quest of unknown lands. Tchu-kouan had heard this tale of Ho-man, so he took this sailor with him, and they went together to the kingdom of Lieou-kieou. They could not understand the language of the inhabitants but they seized a native, who had come on board, and returned to China. [109]

The next year (606), the Emperor ordered Admiral Tchin-ling to assemble his forces and to lead an expedition to the Lieou-kieou kingdom. Tchin-ling left Y-ngan (now Tchao-tcheou-fou, in Kouang-tong province), sailed across the sea and stopped first

on the small island called Kao-hoa; then he sailed one day more, and reached the kingdom of Lieou-kieou.

The inhabitants of this kingdom refused to surrender. Then Tchin-ling attacked them, beat them, burned their houses and palaces, took several thousand prisoners and came back to China. Ma-touan-lin adds that after this time there was no connection with this kingdom."

If you look at a map you will see that the Chinese fleet must have landed on Formosa.

The fleet goes first from Y-ngan to Kao-hoa which is the most southern island of the Peng-hou group, that still bear this name today. The distance is about thirty-eight myriameters in a straight line, and it took them two days to make this voyage. Then they sail another two days and reach Youen-peï, at the northern tip of the Peng-hou archipelago. (The little island Youen-peï has not changed its name either, and you still find it on the Chinese maps). This time the distance seems short for the amount of time expended, but the navigating conditions in these waters [110] explain the difficulties which the expedition encountered.

The shores of Formosa are so steep and studded with reefs that they are practically inaccessible to anyone who is unfamiliar with them. Moreoever, from south to north there are such strong and dangerous currents that even a steamboat does not dare risk them today without an excellent pilot. So it is very probable that the expedition was

carried north while it was hunting for a good anchorage, and that the two days from Kao-hoa to Youen-pei were spent tacking and making fruitless attempts to land.

Finally on the fifth day the Chinese leave the anchorage at Youen-pei and that very day they land at the kingdom of Lieou-kieou.

This last statement furnishes adequate proof that Lieou-kieou must designate Formosa. We already kenw that it would have been impossible to see the smoke of the modern islands of Lieou-kieou from the Peng-hou Islands; the distance is over two hundred leagues, and they are separated by Formosa, which raises its curtain of mountainous peaks between these two archipelagoes. As no ship can make that trip in one day (even Klaproth admits that it takes at least four, and then you have to have a good wind), we can say that the proof is sufficient and that [111] Formosa is the only place where the Chinese could have landed.

Accordingly, Lieuou-kieou is the original name which the Chinese gave to Formosa, and everything that Ma-touan-lin and his predecessors told about the kingdom of Lieou-kieou applies to Formosa.

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Here we must refer to the mistake which Klaproth made both in his memoire on Formosa and in the description of the Lieou-kieou islands. [EJ: i.e., in his Tableaux historique de l'Asie.] As he was deceived by the name Lieou-kieou, he assumed that the Chinese expedition of 606 had visited these islands, and as he attributed to them what was really the ancient history of Formosa, he did not have any documents to use for the history of the island. He thought that there was a gap in the accounts of the Chinese historians, whereas he was making this gap himself; and while he criticized the Peking missionaries for setting the discovery of Formosa at a much too recent date, he made the error which must have motivated their statements.

Now that we have established the main fact, we find that there is a great deal of supplementary proof to corroborate it....

The Chinese text says that the Lieou-kieou country has a great many mountains and caves, that it is governed by a large number of petty kings, that you find wolves, tigers and bears there, and that the customs of the natives in the northern part of the land were quite different from those of the inhabitants [112] in the central and southern portions of the kingdom. Such statements are perfectly applicable to such a large island as Formosa, but they do not fit the Lieou-kieou group, where the largest island is scarcely eighteen leagues long by eight leagues wide; it does not have a single wild animal, and the only mountain is in the north. This is according to the description

which Father Furet gave us recently.

The account of Ma-touan-lin adds that the inhabitants of the country spoke a language which they could not understand. Again this applies to Formosa, because its Oceanic population had never dealt with the Chinese, but it would not fit the people of the Lieou-kieou, whose language is simply a Japanese dialect. Then the Japanese annals show that these islanders had been on intimate terms with the empire since ancient times, since the mother of the famous first m[illegible]o, Zin-mou, came from there.

Finally Ma-touan-lin's account accuses the inhabitants of this island of being cannibals, and this has never been imputed to the Lou-tchouans or to the Japanese populations. Then Klaproth mentions this very fact in his account of Formosa. He says that "Rightly or wrongly, the Chinese accuse the Formosans of being anthropophagous; they claim that the villagers gather to [113] feast upon the men who were slain in battle and even on the invalids, old men and orphans."

Ma-touan-lin says about the Lieou-kieou: "After a combat the dead are piled up together, and people gather to eat them. When a person dies in the southern part of the kingdom, the inhabitants of the village and the surrounding countryside collect to devour him."

On the contrary, when Klaproth describes the residents of the real Lieou-kieou islands, he writes: "The inhabitants are like the Chinese in venerating the dead. They

burn the bodies and preserve the ashes."

This contradiction, and several other similar ones, did not escape the scholar, but they did not show him the whole truth. He merely deleted from Ma-touan-lin's article about the Lieou-kieou the passages which were absolutely incompatible with the ethnography of these islands.

It is equally interesting to compare several passages of this article of Ma-touan-lin with a description of Tai-ouan of Formosa which was published by Father du Halde in 1735.

Father du Halde writes: "Although the Formosan islanders are subject to the Chinese, they have preserved some traces of their former government. Each village selects four or five of the elders who are reputed to be very honest, [114] and they become the chiefs of the village.

Ma-touan-lin wrote: "There are four or five head chiefs who govern each center or village. The villages select their own chiefs."

Father du Halde says: "You are amazed at the speed of these islanders; they can outrun galloping horses."

Ma-touan-lin wrote: "The men in the kingdom can run extraordinarily fast." Father du Halde said: "The men wear a cylindrical hat, and over it they have an aigrette of chicken or pheasant feathers."

Ma-touan-lin wrote: "The men wear high hats which they adorn with a tuft of feathers."
Father du Halde said: "They put several strange floral or animal designs on their skin."
Ma-touan-lin wrote: "They use a needle and a special kind of ink to mark their skin with figures of insects and snakes."
Father du Halde, and then Klaproth said: "Like many of the inhabitants of the Indian islands, the Formosans behead their dead enemies and keep these trophies."
Ma-touan-lin wrote: "They pile skulls around the dwelling of their king, and [115] they believe that this constitues a glorious monument.
Father du Halde says: "When a young man has found a girl whom he wants to marry, he takes a musical instrument to her door, and he does this several days in a row. If the girl loves him, she goes outside to join her suitor. They make their plans themselves, and then tell their fathers and mothers about them."
Ma-touan-lin wrote: "When a boy and girl love each other, they decide to get married and then tell their parents."

This final characteristic is interesting because it is so different from the Japanese customs which are observed on the Lieou-kieou islands, and which resemble the Chinese fashion of having the parents arrange the match; frequently the young people have never met before the wedding in that land.

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Someone may think that Father du Halde simply drew these details from the work of Ma-touan-lin, but I do not believe that this is the case. I think that Father du Halde gathered the data which was available at his time. But even if we should admit this supposition, it would even serve to stregthen the evidence of this scholarly Jesuit, for it would show that Father du Halde did as I have done, that is, he applied to Formosa some Chinese documents which were recorded under the title of Lieou-kieou.

It would be a simple matter to give more quotations [116] but it seems to me that I have given abundant proof that Tai-ouan or Formosa is indeed the land which the Chinese first visited in 605 or 606, and which had no further connection with the compatriots of Ma-touan-lin until the time of this writer. (1)

1. It is possible to raise the objection that Ma-touan-lin says that it took five days to go from the harbor of Y-ngan (Tchao-tcheou-fou) to the kingdom of Lieou-kieou by way of the Peng-hou islands, while that crossing can be done in a much shorter time today; but a vessel which is seeking its way is not like one following a definite course. Moreover, Ma-touan-lin himself says that at that time there was no communication with Lieou-kieou kingdom as no one had gone back there since 606; accordingly, the five days sailing is based on the amount of time which the expedition required in the seventh century.

We still have to explain a few obscurities and apparent contradictions which appear if you try to apply everything recorded by the Chinese writers, who came after Ma-touan-lin, to one country. Klaproth made this attempt.
In the seventh century, especially, there were envoys from Lieou-kieou at the Chinese

court, and they did not come from Formosa. But gradually we see that the identity of names makes it easy to get confused, and that the Chinese used the term Lieou-kieou for the whole group of islands formed by the chain of submarine mountains that extends from Fo-kien to Japan (Formosa, the Madjikosima and [117] the Lieou-kieou). This was true until the 16th century when they turned their attention on Formosa again, and finally gave it a special name; at first they called it Ki-long, from the Dutch port, and then Tai-ouan (the high peaks), its present name; this comes from the capital and the mountain at whose foot it lies.

Here are the proofs for this statement:

Ma-touan-lin explains why the name Lieou-kieou was applied to the country, which the expedition visited in 606. He declares that the Japanese embassy happened to be at the Chinese court at the time. When people asked them about the islands lying between Japan and China, they spoke of Riou-kiou (Chinese Lieou-kieou) islands, with which the Japanese had dealt for centuries. The Chinese evidently thought that the island which they had discovered was a prolongation of the archipelago to which the Japanese had referred, and so they use this collective name, which caused a number of errors.

Now let us look at the large Chinese geography Tai-tsing-y-tong-tchi, which was published during the last century. In the article entitled Lieou-kieou, it states that the central part of the island, where the expedition landed in 606, is in the same latitude

[118] as the Mei-ling chain of mountains, which separates the Chinese provinces of Fo-kien and Kouang-tong; this is true of Formosa. Then this same geography says that on the whole the Lieou-kieou islands lie east of the Chinese territories of Tchang-tcheou, Tsiouen-tcheou-Hing-tcheou and Feu-tcheou. If we look at good map, it is easy to see that Formosa is east of Tchang and Tsiouen-tcheou, while you find the Lieou-kieou islands east of Hing and Feu-tcheou.

Finally the Tai-tsing-y-tong-tchi geography observes that formerly there were two kingdom of Lieou-kieou, and that they were inhabited by barbarians of different colors; one group was similar to the Japanese, while the other was a coppery red in hue. This ethnographic indication shows the division between the yellow race of the modern Lieou-kieou islands and the Oceanic race of Formosa.

Let us add that on all the Chinese maps an islet placed south of Formosa is still called little Lieou-kieou (siao Lieou-kieou), and Klaproth himself had to mention the fact that Formosa was called big Lieou-kieou (ta Lieou-kieou) on a Chinese map of the sixteenth century, which he used to make his 25th picture of Tableaux historiques de l'-Asie. So there was a large and a small Lieou-kieou at least, in addition to the real Lieou-kieou, and [119] these two facts tally with each other....

We may accept these facts as proved:

1. Klaproth was wrong in believing that the names Fan and Man-ti were terms

which the Chinese applied particularly to the inhabitants of Formosa; they [120] were generic names for all the foreigners from the south.

2. It would be wrong to think that the Chinese had no term whatsoever to designate the island from the 5th to the 12th century.

3. The Chinese paid their first visit to Formosa in 605. They made an expedition to it the next year, and in Ma-touan-lin's description of it he refers to the island as Lieou-kieou.

4. During Ma-touan-lin's lifetime, no other Chinese expedition went to the country of Lieou-kieou and no embassy came from there. So Formosa was the only Lieou-kieou island which was known to the Chinese; we cannot tell exactly when they discovered the real Lieou-kieou islands, but we believe that it was not before the middle of the thirteenth century.

5. Gradually the Chinese made the acquaintance of the Madjikosima and Lieou-kieou archipelagoes, which lie in the direction of Japan, but for a long time this did not influence them to look for the new name. They included all of these islands under the same name until the 16th century, when they gave a special name to Formosa. [121]

6. Accordingly, all Chinese documents which referred to Lieou-kieou before the 13th century may be applied to Formosa.